

OXFORD



*Edited by*

Andrew Faulkner

Athanassios Vergados

Andreas Schwab

The Reception of the

# *Homeric Hymns*

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Edited by  
ANDREW FAULKNER,  
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AND ANDREAS SCHWAB

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We would like to dedicate this volume to Dr Nicholas Richardson, who has contributed to it a study on the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in the English poets. His contributions to the study of Greek poetry, in particular the *Homeric Hymns*, have shaped

scholarship on the *Homeric Hymns* over the past five decades. He has been unstintingly generous in his support of young scholars, whom he has guided with gentleness and a profound humanity: *est igitur aliquid humilitatis miro modo quod sursum faciat cor* (Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* 14. 13).

Andrew Faulkner, Athanassios Vergados,  
and Andreas Schwab

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## *List of Abbreviations*

- ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, eds W. Haase and H. Temporini (Berlin and New York, 1972).
- BHG *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, ed. F. Halkin, 3 vols (Brüssels, 1957).
- CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 17 vols (Berlin, 1862).
- CWE *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 89 vols (Toronto, 1975– ).
- EG *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, ed. G. Kaibel (Berlin, 1878).
- FGrH *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. F. Jacoby (Berlin/Leiden, 1923–58).
- GDK *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaizerzeit*, ed. E. Heitsch, 2 vols (Göttingen, 1963–4).
- Guarducci M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, 4 vols (Rome, 1967–78).
- GVI *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, ed. W. Peek (Berlin, 1955).
- HWPB *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, eds J. Ritter, K. Gründer, and G. Gabriel, 13 vols (Basel, 1971–2007).
- IGLS *Les inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, ed. L. Jalabert (Paris, 1929– ).
- I.Pisid.Cent. *The Inscriptions of Central Pisidia*, eds G. H. R. Horsley and S. Mitchell (Bonn, 2000).
- LCL Loeb Classical Library, ed. J. Henderson (Cambridge, MA, 1911– ).
- LDAB Leuven Database of Ancient Books (<<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>>).
- LfgrE *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, eds B. Snell et al. (Göttingen, 1955– ).
- LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 8 vols (Zurich and Munich, 1981–99).
- LP *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, eds E. Lobel and D. Page (Oxford, 1955).
- LSJ H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones, R. McKenzie, and P. G. W. Glare, *Greek-English Lexicon, with a Revised Supplement* (9th edn; Oxford, 1996).
- MP<sup>3</sup> Mertens-Pack 3 online database (<<http://www.web.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/database-mp3/>>).
- M–W *Fragmenta Hesiodica*, eds R. Merkelbach and M. L. West (Oxford, 1967).

OLD	P. G. W. Glare, A. Souter, and J. M. Wyllie, <i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 2000 (1982)).
PCG	<i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> , eds R. Kassel and C. Austin (Berlin, 1983– ).
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> , ed. J. P. Migne, 161 vols (Paris, 1857–66).
PGM	<i>Papyri Graecae et Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> , eds K. Preisendanz, A. Henrichs (2nd edn.; Stuttgart, 1974).
PLRE	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , 3 vols (Cambridge, 1971–92).
PMG	<i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> , ed. D. L. Page (Oxford, 1962).
PMGF	<i>Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. M. Davies (Oxford, 1991).
RE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , eds G. Wissowa et al. (Stuttgart and Munich, 1893–1980).
RGrK	E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, and H. Hunger, <i>Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600</i> (Vienna, 1981).
RVF	Francesco Petrarca, <i>Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta</i> .
R–W	<i>Menander Rhetor</i> , eds D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson (Oxford, 1981).
SGO	<i>Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten</i> , eds R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber (Stuttgart, Leipzig, and Munich, 1998–2004).
SnM	<i>Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis</i> , eds B. Snell and H. Maehler (Leipzig, 1987–9).
Spengel	<i>Rhetores Graeci</i> , ed. L. von Spengel, 3 vols (Leipzig, 1853–6).
SVF	<i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> , ed. H. von Arnim, 3 vols (Leipzig, 1903–5).
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris, Vol. 3 Tituli Pisidiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti</i> , ed. R. Heberdey (Vienna, 1941).
TLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> , ed. Internationale Thesaurus-Kommission (Leipzig, 1900– ).
Voigt	<i>Sappho et Alcaeus</i> , ed. E. Voigt (Amsterdam, 1971).
W	<i>Ioannis Stobaei Anthologium</i> , eds C. Wachsmuth and O. Hense, 5 vols (Berlin, 1884–1912).
Wendel	<i>Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium vetera</i> , ed. C. Wendel, editio altera (Berlin, 1958).
WZIS	Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem.

Abbreviations of ancient authors and their works are those of LSJ, with the exception of the *Homeric Hymns*. The latter are referred to as *h.Dem.*, *h.Ap.*, *h.Herm.*, *h.Aphr.*, and elsewhere as *h.Hom.* with the corresponding number. Abbreviations of journal titles follow the conventions of *L'Année philologique*.

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## Introduction

*Andrew Faulkner, Athanassios Vergados,  
and Andreas Schwab*

εἷς τε φάως ἄγαγεν, ἀρίσημά τε ἔργα τέτυκτο

‘She gave birth, and notable things occurred’ (*h.Herm.* 11)

The *Homeric Hymns*, their language and narratives of the miraculous deeds of the gods, did not pass without notice in Greek and Latin literature of the late Roman Republican and Imperial periods. Direct citation and close imitation provide certain evidence of their circulation, of which select examples give a preliminary sketch. In Greek, the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus, whose fragmentary works have emerged from the ashes of Herculaneum, quotes from the *Hymns* to Demeter and Apollo in the first century BC,<sup>1</sup> while the historian Diodorus Siculus bears witness in the same century to verses of the first *Hymn to Dionysus*.<sup>2</sup> In the second century AD, the learned travel writer and geographer Pausanias cites the *Hymns* (Demeter and Apollo), as does the contemporary orator Aelius Aristides (Apollo).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Phld. *Piet.* p. 87 Schober (“Ὁμηρος δ’ ἐν [τοῖς ὕμ]νοῖς, cit. *h.Dem.* 440), p. 93 Schober (ὕμ[ν]οι[s] Ὁμηρος, cit. *h.Ap.* 91); see I. Boserup, ‘Zu Philodems *De pietate* und Heraklit B 80’, *ZPE* 8 (1971), 109–11; A. Henrichs, ‘Toward a New Edition of Philodemus’ Treatise *On Piety*’, *GRBS* 13 (1972), 72–7.

<sup>2</sup> D.S. 1. 15. 7 (μεμνήσθαι δὲ τῆς Νύσσης τὸν ποιητὴν ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοῖς [φασί], cit. *h.Hom.* 1 A. 9–10), 4. 2. 4 (τὸν Ὁμηρον δὲ τοῦτοις μαρτυρῆσαι ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοῖς [φασί], cit. *h.Hom.* 1 A. 9–10), 3. 66. 3 (ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοῖς, cit. *h.Hom.* 1 A. 2–10). See M. L. West, ‘The First Homeric Hymn to Dionysus’, in A. Faulkner, *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011), 30.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 1. 20. 3 (possible ref. to *h.Hom.* 1; see West (2011), 42), 1. 38. 2–3 (ref. *h.Dem.* 154–5), 4. 30. 4 (cit. *h.Dem.* 417–20), 10. 37. 4 (ref. *h.Ap.* 269), Aristid. *orat.* 34.



So too Athenaeus (Apollo and Dionysus) in the late second or early third century.<sup>4</sup> In the fourth or fifth century the Orphic *Argonautica* takes over four lines from the first *Hymn* to Dionysus,<sup>5</sup> while in the fifth century the Neoplatonist Proclus produces in his hexameter hymn to Aphrodite a line so close to a verse from the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* that one can assume it constitutes direct imitation.<sup>6</sup> In Latin, it has long been established that the encounter of Aphrodite and Anchises in the *Hymn to Aphrodite* served as a model for Aeneas' encounter with Venus in the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid*,<sup>7</sup> while Hinds has demonstrated that Ovid had as a direct model for *Metamorphoses* 5 and *Fasti* 4 the *Hymn to Demeter*.<sup>8</sup>

At the turn of the last century Barchiesi, in expanding upon Hinds' evidence for Ovid's reading of the *Homeric Hymns*,<sup>9</sup> recognized this to be an understudied area. The book before you is a response to this observation and the general impression, gathered from many hours of collective reading, is that the later reception of the *Hymns* is worth documenting at greater length and in a more focused manner. There is

35 (cit. *h.Ap.* 169–71; see Chapter 9 in this volume). It is notable that Pausanias does not cite *h.Herm.*; cf. T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1936), lxx.

<sup>4</sup> Athen. 22b (cit. *h.Ap.* 514–16), 653b (possible cit. *h.Hom.* 1 B; see M. L. West, 'The Fragmentary Homeric Hymn to Dionysus', *ZPE* 134 (2001), 8).

<sup>5</sup> Orph. *Arg.* 1199–202 ~ *h.Hom.* 1 A 11–14 West. See West (2011), 42–3.

<sup>6</sup> Proc. *Hy.* 2. 13 πᾶσιν δ' ἔργα μέμληεν ἐρωτοτόκου Κυθереΐης ~ *h.Aphr.* 6 πᾶσιν δ' ἔργα μέμληεν εὐστεφάνου Κυθереΐης. See R. M. van den Berg, *Proclus' Hymns: Essays, Translations, Commentary* (Leiden, 2001), 6–7, 203. For further testimonia in the scholia and elsewhere, see Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936), lxxii–lxxviii; A. Faulkner, 'The Collection of Homeric Hymns: From the Seventh to the Third Centuries BC', in *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011c), 176–8.

<sup>7</sup> C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Étude sur Virgile* (Paris, 1857), 274–82; followed and elaborated by A. Barchiesi, 'Rappresentazioni del dolore e interpretazione nell'Eneide', *A&A* 40 (1994), 116–17; K. Reckford, 'Recognizing Venus (I): Aeneas Meets his Mother', *Arion* 3.2/3 (1995–6); P. Hardie, 'Virgil's Ptolemaic Relations', *JRS* 96 (2006), 26; S. D. Olson, 'Immortal Encounters: *Aeneid* 1 and the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite', *Vergilius* 56 (2011); C. W. Gladhill, 'Sons, Mothers, and Sex: *Aeneid* 1.314–20 and the Hymn to Aphrodite Reconsidered', *Vergilius* 58 (2012).

<sup>8</sup> S. E. Hinds, *The Metamorphosis of Persephone. Ovid and the Self-Conscious Muse* (Cambridge, 1987a).

<sup>9</sup> A. Barchiesi, 'Venus' Masterplot: Ovid and the Homeric Hymns', in P. Hardie, A. Barchiesi, and S. Hinds (eds), *Ovidian Transformations: Essays on Ovid's Metamorphoses and its Reception* (Cambridge, 1999), 123; further A. M. Keith, 'Sources and Genres in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1–5', in B. W. Boyd (ed.), *A Companion to the Study of Ovid* (Leiden, 2002), 249–50; Y. Syed, 'Ovid's Use of the Hymnic Genre in the *Metamorphoses*', in A. Barchiesi, J. Rüpke, and S. Stephens (eds), *Rituals in Ink: A Conference on Religion and Literary Production in Ancient Rome* (Stuttgart, 2004).

no doubt that the *Hymns* garnered significantly less attention in antiquity than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and that they often receive no mention in the Homeric scholia at points when one would naturally have appealed to them, facts which led Allen, Halliday, and Sikes to proclaim an ‘impression of neglect’ of the *Hymns* in antiquity.<sup>10</sup> The attention, however, paid to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is a disproportionate stick against which to measure the reception of any other ancient work. Moreover, the lack of reference to the *Hymns* in Hellenistic scholarship may owe to their ‘deuterocanonical’ status, that is their exclusion as genuine Homeric works amongst Alexandrian scholars,<sup>11</sup> rather than their neglect. To be sure, in stark contrast to the paucity of scholarly references, it has been amply demonstrated that the Alexandrian poets were avid readers of the *Hymns*, with which they were in frequent dialogue.

With the exception of one chapter devoted to the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in Greek vase painting, a subject in need of a synoptic study, the essays in this book explore the reception of the *Hymns* in literature and scholarship of the first century BC and later, with particular emphasis on Latin and Greek Imperial/Late Antique literature: the scope of the book includes studies of Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, Greek literature of the Imperial period and Byzantium, Italian literature of the fifteenth century, German scholarship of the nineteenth century, and the English poets. This chronological focus does not seek to play down the importance of Classical and Hellenistic reception of the *Homeric Hymns* but rather to direct attention towards a gap in scholarship. Recent studies have investigated the early reception of the *Hymns*, while much work of the past thirty years has opened up our understanding of their reception in Hellenistic poetry.<sup>12</sup> Post-Hellenistic reception of the *Hymns* must, of course, take into account their earlier reception, through which later engagement with the poems is often refracted, particularly in the case of Latin poetry. Hunter, in underlining the importance of the *Hymns* for Hellenistic and Roman poetry, deftly sifts one such example:<sup>13</sup> the

<sup>10</sup> Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936), lxxxix.

<sup>11</sup> As recognized by Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936), lxxxix, comparing *Hom. Vit.* 5. 19, which rejects the *Hymns* as by Homer. Cf. Faulkner (2011c), 177–8.

<sup>12</sup> See Faulkner (2011c), with a survey of scholarship on the *Hymns* and Hellenistic poetry; G. Nagy, ‘The Earliest Phases in the Reception of the *Homeric Hymns*’, in A. Faulkner, *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* (Oxford, 2011).

<sup>13</sup> R. L. Hunter, *The Shadow of Callimachus: Studies in the Reception of Hellenistic Poetry at Rome* (Cambridge, 2006), 21–6. For further examples of the intermingling of

speech of the divine shepherd Linus to Gallus on Mount Helicon in Virgil *Eclogue* 6.64–73, a passage concerned with poetic succession, seems to rework Delos' speech on the birth of Apollo at Callimachus *Hy.* 4.268–73; fittingly so in the context of poetic succession, given that Delos' speech in Callimachus is itself in dialogue with Leto's oath to Delos in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 87–8. A full appreciation of the Virgilian episode therefore requires an awareness of the reception of the *Homeric Hymn* in Callimachus, one of a complex of related intertexts.<sup>14</sup> More will be said below about modes and methods of reception. First, a brief survey of the Classical and Hellenistic reception of the *Hymns* will help to provide context and set the stage for the contributions in this book,<sup>15</sup> which take into account earlier reception where relevant.

## CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC RECEPTION OF THE *HOMERIC HYMNS*

The evidence for the reception of the *Hymns* in literature prior to the Hellenistic period is not abundant. Their reception undoubtedly extends back to the interaction of the *Hymns* themselves,<sup>16</sup> but

influence by archaic hymns and Hellenistic poetry on Latin literature, see Barchiesi (1999), 125. Most recently, Bruce Gibson examined the presence of hymnic elements in the poetry of Statius and offered interesting observations on possible points of contact with the *Homeric Hymns*; see B. Gibson, 'Hymnic Features in Statian Epic and the *Silvae*', in A. Augoustakis (ed.), *Ritual and Religion in Flavian Epic* (Oxford, 2013), 133–4, 136.

<sup>14</sup> On layered reception in Latin poetry, see R. F. Thomas, 'Virgil's *Georgics* and the Art of Reference', *HSPH* 90 (1986).

<sup>15</sup> For a fuller survey of this material, see Faulkner (2011c).

<sup>16</sup> A number of verbal and thematic similarities suggest a direct link between the long *Hymns* to Aphrodite and Demeter, with the balance of evidence suggesting that the Demeter hymn is later: see R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns: Diachronic Development in Epic Diction* (Cambridge, 1982), 163–5; N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974), 42–3; A. Faulkner, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (Oxford, 2008), 38–40. It appears that the *Hymn to Hermes* fashions itself in relation to the *Hymn to Apollo*: see N. J. Richardson, 'The Homeric Hymn to Hermes', in P. J. Finglass, C. Collard, and N. J. Richardson (eds), *Hesperos. Studies in Ancient Greek Poetry Presented to M. L. West on His Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford, 2007); A. Vergados, *The Homeric Hymn to Hermes: Introduction, Text and Commentary* (Berlin, 2013), 70–3. The *Hymn to Pan* also seems to be influenced by the *Hymn to Hermes*: see R. F. Thomas, *The Homeric Hymn to Hermes: Introduction, Text and*

there is little in the way of direct testimonia. Thucydides famously cites the *Homeric Hymn* to Apollo as a *prooimion* of Homer,<sup>17</sup> and a fifth-century Attic lekythos (c.470 BC) depicts a young boy holding a scroll containing the first line of *Hymn* 18 to Hermes,<sup>18</sup> a possible indication that the *Hymns* were already in the fifth century BC used in schools. Otherwise there are no direct quotations. Nevertheless, the *Hymns* have left their mark in Classical literature. Pindar seems to allude quite directly to the *Hymn to Apollo* when in a fragmentary *Paean* (7b. 10–14), at whose outset Apollo and Leto are addressed, the chorus leader claims to go ‘far from Homer on an untrodden wagon-track’ (Ὀμήρου [ἐκὰς ἄτρι]πτον κατ’ ἀμαξιτόν).<sup>19</sup> Shared language and details of narrative show with some certainty that the *Hymn to Hermes* has influenced Sophocles’ *Ichneutae*,<sup>20</sup> while a few isolated thematic and verbal similarities with the *Hymns* could indicate that Euripides and Aristophanes were also familiar with individual poems.<sup>21</sup> In a less direct way, Simonides in his Plataea poem appears to play with the structural conventions of early hexameter hymns such as those in our collection.<sup>22</sup>

In the fourth century, there is little trace of the *Hymns*. Del Corno proposed a number of allusions to the *Homeric Hymns* in Antimachus of Colophon’s *Lyde*,<sup>23</sup> but his case is weak, as the allusions refer to individual words which are also found in Homeric and Hesiodic (or other earlier) poetry, a difficulty we encounter also in the

*Commentary* (Berlin, 2011), 166–8; Vergados (2013), 110–11. West (2011) suggests that the first *Hymn* to Dionysus may have influenced the narrative of the *Iliad*.

<sup>17</sup> Th. 3. 104 δηλοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖσδε, ἃ ἔστιν ἐκ προοιμίου Ἀπόλλωνος (‘Homer makes this very clear by these verses from the hymn to Apollo’), citing *h.Ap.* 146–50 and 165–72.

<sup>18</sup> See J. D. Beazley, ‘Some Inscriptions on Vases’, *AJA* 54 (1950), 318–19, and in this book, Chapter 2.

<sup>19</sup> See P. Bing, *The Well-read Muse: Present and Past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poets* (Göttingen, 1988), 103–10; I. Rutherford, *Pindar’s Paeans: A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre* (Oxford, 2001), 243–52, 364–72; D. Fearn, *Bacchylides: Politics, Performance, Poetic Tradition* (Oxford, 2007), 9–16.

<sup>20</sup> See N. J. Richardson, *Three Homeric Hymns: Apollo, Hermes, and Aphrodite* (Cambridge, 2010), 25; Vergados (2013), 79–86.

<sup>21</sup> See Faulkner (2011c), 197–9; Richardson (1974), 69 on the *Hymn to Demeter* in Euripides’ *Helen*.

<sup>22</sup> See D. Obbink, ‘The Genre of Plataea: Generic Unity in the New Simonides’, in D. Boedeker and D. Sider (eds), *The New Simonides: Contexts of Praise and Desire* (Oxford, 2001).

<sup>23</sup> See D. Del Corno, ‘Ricerche intorno alla Lyde di Antimaco’, *Acme* 15 (1962), 89–90.

study of the *Hymns*' later reception (cf. Chapter 13 in this volume).<sup>24</sup> Fr. 31.4–5 from the *Thebaid*, however (τόν ῥά τ' Ἀπόλλωνος σχεδὸν ἄλσεος Ὀγκαίοιο | αὐτῇ Γαί' ἀνέδωκε, σέβας θνητοῖσιν ιδέσθαι, 'whom [sc. Arion] Gaia herself sent forth near the grove of Ongaian Apollo, an awe-inspiring thing for mortals to behold'), clearly reworks and compresses *h.Dem.* 8–11 where it is said of the Narcissus:<sup>25</sup>

... ὃν φῦσε δόλον καλυκώπιδι κούρη  
Γαῖα Διὸς βουλῇσι χαριζομένη πολυδέκτη  
θαυμαστὸν γανῶντα, σέβας τό γε πᾶσιν ιδέσθαι  
ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖς ἥδ' ἑθνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

... that Earth put forth as a snare for the maiden with eyes like buds by the will of Zeus, as a favor to the Hospitable One. It shone wondrously, an awe-inspiring thing to see both for the immortal gods and for mortal men.

On the basis of fr. 94 it seems that Antimachus followed *h.Ap.* concerning Leto's wanderings and the duration of her labour (nine days).<sup>26</sup> An echo of *h.Hom.* 1 has been proposed by Matthews for fr. 162, where it seems plausible that Antimachus placed Nyse in Arabia, a detail that he might have derived from *h.Hom.* 1 A 10 where Nyse is located τηλοῦ Φοινίκης σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτου ῥόων ('in a distant part of Phoenicia, almost at the waters of the Nile').<sup>27</sup> Finally, an echo of the poem to *h.Herm.* (lines 6–9) has been detected in fr. 2.<sup>28</sup>

The engagement with the *Homeric Hymns* by Hellenistic poets of the third century BC is extensive and nuanced. There is good reason to believe that a collection of at least the longer *Hymns* was available to Callimachus (who alludes to them throughout his own collection of

<sup>24</sup> See V. J. Matthews, *Antimachus of Colophon: Text and Commentary* (Leiden, 1996), 38–9, for a criticism of Del Corno's arguments.

<sup>25</sup> See Matthews (1996), 142; Richardson (1974), 69.

<sup>26</sup> ... ἐν δὲ τοῖς | ὕμν[οι]σ[ι] Ὀμηροῦ [ῆ]||μέ[ρας ἀλγ]ῆσαι κ[αί] νύκ[τας ἐ]γνέα [τῇν] | [Ἀη[τῶ πρὶν] τεκεῖν] φη[σιν. Κ]αλλίμα[χο]ς δὲ τὰ | παρ' Ἀντιμ[άχ]ω με[τα]λαβόν | ἔγρ[αψε]ν [ὥ]ς οὐδὲ [...]πρ [...]δ[...]γετο (= Phld. Piet., P. Hercul. N 1088II + N 433II, 38 + 29 Gomperz). Callimachus adds to this story the theme of Hera's hatred. See Matthews (1996), 259–61. Crucial here is the meaning of με[τα]λαβόν: if it means 'took over', as Henrichs (1972), 72–7, assumed, then Callimachus would agree with the story's treatment in Antimachus who would thus have departed from *h.Apol.* But G. Giangrande, 'Kallimachos und Antimachos', *Hermes* 102 (1974) is correct to understand 'change', a sense commonly found in scholiastic literature, which implies that Callimachus distanced himself from Antimachus who must have agreed with the story as told by the poet of *h.Ap.*

<sup>27</sup> See Matthews (1996), 367–8.

<sup>28</sup> See Vergados (2013), 111–12.

six hymns) and stood in the great library of Alexandria.<sup>29</sup> The popularity of the *Hymns* in this period may be due in part to their suitability as a medium for encomiastic praise of patrons who themselves claimed divinity.<sup>30</sup> Thus Theocritus in some respects fashions *Idyll* 17, an encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus, as a hymn in dialogue with the account of Apollo's birth on Delos in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*: Philadelphus, born on Cos, is likened to the god Apollo in his reception by an island at birth (58–76).<sup>31</sup> In his first hymn to Zeus, in which Ptolemaic kingship is similarly associated with Zeus' divinity, Callimachus evokes the opening lines of the first *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* (Hy. 1. 4–8 ~ *h.Hom.* 1. 2–6, through the motif of rival birthplaces).<sup>32</sup> The precocious young Zeus in that same hymn also recalls the extraordinary infant Hermes in the *Hymn to Hermes*, whose narrative appears elsewhere to have influenced Callimachus' depiction of the gifted child Artemis in his third hymn.<sup>33</sup>

The appeal of the *Hymns* may also have lain in the Hellenistic and Roman taste for shorter and more experimental poems.<sup>34</sup> Also attractive could have been the playful nature of narratives such as

<sup>29</sup> See Faulkner (2011c), 179–81.

<sup>30</sup> So R. L. Hunter, *Theocritus and the Archaeology of Greek Poetry* (Cambridge, 1996), 47. 'The "Homeric hymn", which identified the areas of a god's power and placed him or her within the overall scheme of the divine, seems in retrospect an obvious vehicle for describing the divine.'

<sup>31</sup> See R. L. Hunter, *Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Berkeley, 2003), 8–9, 142–5. In the *Hymn*, Cos is one of the islands that rejects Leto. Theocritus elsewhere clearly rewrites *Hymn* 33 to the Dioscuri in the opening lines of *Idyll* 22, while *Idyll* 24 seems to recall the Metaneira–Demophoon episode in the *Hymn to Demeter*: see Hunter (1996), 12, 46–57; A. Sens, *Theocritus: Dioscuri (Idyll 22)* (Göttingen, 1997), 13, 75–9. The influence of the *Hymn to Apollo* is evident also in Callimachus' hymns to Apollo and Delos; further discussion in Faulkner (2011c), 181–8, with bibliography.

<sup>32</sup> See e.g. M. Depew, 'Gender, Power, and Poetics in Callimachus' Book of *Hymns*', in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker (eds.), *Hellenistica Groningana: Callimachus II* (Leuven, 2004), 118–21. On the similarity of Callimachus' hymn to Zeus and Theocritus *Idyll* 17, see S. Stephens, *Seeing Double: Intercultural Poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Berkeley, 2003), 127–8 and *passim*.

<sup>33</sup> See J. J. Clauss, 'Lies and Allusions: The Addressee and Date of Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*', *ClAnt* 5 (1986) and subsection below on Callimachus, p. 12 in this chapter; Vergados (2013), 117–18.

<sup>34</sup> So Hunter (2006), 25, 'in the importance of the *Homeric Hymns* for Hellenistic and Roman poetry we can trace an attempt, perhaps conscious, to find in Homer the same trends towards shorter and more experimental poems that the age, for a complex combination of reasons, favoured'. I. Petrovic, 'Rhapsodic Hymns and Epyllia', in M. Baumbach and S. Bär (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Epyllion and Its Reception* (Leiden, 2012) suggests that the *Hymns* were models for Hellenistic *epyllia*.

the *Hymns* to Hermes and Aphrodite: as the contributions in this book demonstrate, these two *Hymns* seem to have been particularly popular amongst Latin poets, including Virgil, Horace, and Ovid. Callimachus also very probably alludes to the *Hymn to Aphrodite* in his collection. In his *Hymn to Artemis*, the young goddess punishes a city of the unjust (ἀλλὰ μιν εἰς ἀδίκων ἔβαλες πόλιν, 122), a possible echo of her rare concern for just cities in the *Hymn* (δικαίων τε πόλιν ἀνδρῶν, 20); in the same poem the description of Artemis petitioning her father for virginity and honours (26–8) recalls (alongside Sapph. fr. 44a. 1–11 Voigt) Hestia's oath of virginity in the *Hymn* (25–32); unique language of the cries of nymphs at Apollo's birth in the fourth hymn to Delos (διαπρυσίην ὀλολυγὴν, 258) points to the *Hymn* (διαπρύσιοι τ' ὀλολυγαί, 19); and the negative contrast of the virgin Athena with Aphrodite at the beginning of his fifth hymn is thematically reminiscent of the priamel at the beginning of the *Hymn*, where Aphrodite is contrasted with the virginal Athena, Artemis, and Hestia.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, lines 137–41 probably owe something to the closing formulas of the *Homeric Hymns*, and especially to *h.Ap.* 177ff. (the conclusion of the *Delian* part) where the singer's taking leave from his audience is directly followed by new material of praise.<sup>36</sup> The *Hymn to Demeter* is a clear model for Callimachus' sixth hymn to the same goddess, which with its narrative of transgression against a god recalls the story of Dionysus' abduction by Tyrrhenian pirates in the seventh *Hymn*.<sup>37</sup> It elsewhere seems probable that the

<sup>35</sup> See R. L. Hunter, 'Writing the God: Form and Meaning in Callimachus, *Hymn to Athena*', *MD* 29 (1992), 12; F. Hadjittofi, 'Callimachus' Sexy Athena: The *Hymn to Athena* and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*', *Materiali e Discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 60 (2008); A. Faulkner, 'Callimachus and his Allusive Virgins: Delos, Hestia, and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*', *HSPH* 105 (2010a); Faulkner (2008), 191–3, with bibliography. S. D. Olson, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite and Related Texts* (Berlin, 2012), 24–8, who goes to great lengths to downplay the potential impact of the long *Hymn to Aphrodite* on Callimachus and other Hellenistic literature, is seemingly unaware of the wealth of scholarship attesting the popularity of the *Hymns* in the period. Especially in the case of Callimachus' hymns, the many clear allusions to the *Homeric Hymns* make less obvious or purely thematic intertexts a priori more likely.

<sup>36</sup> See F. Bornmann, *Callimachi Hymnus in Dianam. Introduzione, testo critico e commento* (Florence, 1968), ad 137–41.

<sup>37</sup> See P. Bing, 'Callimachus and the *Hymn to Demeter*', *SyllClass* 6 (1995); A. W. Bulloch, 'Callimachus' *Erysichthon*, Homer and Apollonius Rhodius', *AJPh* 98 (1977), 99–101; A. Faulkner, 'Fast, Famine, and Feast: The Motif of Food in Callimachus' Sixth *Hymn to Demeter*', *HSPH* 106 (2012).

nineteenth *Hymn to Pan* is an intertext for Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*.<sup>38</sup>

In what follows we present a selection of references to the *Homeric Hymns* in Hellenistic literature that have been pointed out in recent scholarship, in order to provide further context:

### Philitas

No allusions to *h.Herm.* can be detected among the fragments of and testimonia to Philitas' *Hermes*, in which Odysseus seems to have played a prominent role.<sup>39</sup> Philitas may have capitalized on the similarities between Hermes and Odysseus (who in some versions was said to descend from Hermes) that had already been established in poetry.<sup>40</sup>

In the case of Philitas' *Demeter* Spanoudakis has argued that *h.Dem.* was the 'main model . . . adapted to Coan standards'.<sup>41</sup> Common themes listed by Spanoudakis include: the aetiology of the Coan cult of Demeter (just as *h.Dem.* had provided the *aition* for the Eleusinian cult); Demeter's meeting with Chalkon that might have been influenced by the goddess's meeting the daughters of Celeus in the *Hymn*; possibly Demeter's breaking of the fast and the 'mimetic efforts' aimed at changing the goddess's mood such as those by Iambe in the *Hymn*; the plane tree of *Demeter* fr. 8 might be based on the olive tree mentioned at *h.Dem.* 98–9; and the fact that the goddess mourns at Bourina in Cos might be a reminiscence of her mourning at Callichoros in the *Hymn*. But the verbal parallels are few and not particularly promising.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> See A. Faulkner, 'Et in Arcadia Diana: An Encounter with Pan in Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*', *CPh* 108 (2013).

<sup>39</sup> See *Fr.* 1–5 (Spanoudakis).

<sup>40</sup> On these similarities, see e.g. K. Spanoudakis, *Philitas of Cos* (Leiden, 2002), 135; Vergados (2013), 65–7.

<sup>41</sup> Spanoudakis (2002), 223–43, for a reconstruction of Philitas' *Demeter*, and esp. 239–40 for the possible affinities with *h.Dem.*

<sup>42</sup> Spanoudakis (2002), 240 lists the following: *Dem. fr.* 17 λευκόν . . . ἔρι ~ *h.Dem.* 309/452 κρῆ λευκόν; *Dem. fr.* 21 καί κεν . . . | καί κεν ~ *h.Dem.* 141–4; *Dem. fr.* 21 Ἑλευσίνος . . . λόφον ~ *h.Dem.* 272 Καλλιχόρου . . . ἐπὶ προύχοντι κολωνῷ; *Dem. fr.* 10.2 ὠραίων ἐρχομένων ἐτέων ~ *h.Dem.* 265 ὥρησιν . . . περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν.



### Aratus

Aratus, too, shows evidence of his interaction with the *Homeric Hymns*. In *Phaenomena* 30–5 (quoted and discussed in Chapter 9, p. 172), a complex passage that also recalls Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*, Aratus echoes *h.Hom.* 26.6 (ἄντρω ἐν εὐώδει, 'in the fragrant cave').<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, he recalls the *Hymn to Hermes* in *Phaen.* 268–9, which discuss the constellation of the *Lyra*. There it is said that Hermes constructed his lyre (χέλυσ) when he was still in his crib (ἔτι καὶ παρὰ λίκνῳ). The case for the allusion is corroborated by a piece of circumstantial evidence, namely that Aratus, before discussing the constellation *Lyra* describes the Pleiades (one of whom was also Maia, Hermes' mother) using the clausula πότνια Μαῖα, elsewhere found only in *h.Herm.* Characteristically, πότνια Μαῖα appears in Aratus five verses before his mention of χέλυσ, just as in the *Hymn* πότνια Μαῖα occurs in v. 19 and is followed by χέλυσ in 24.<sup>44</sup> The *Hymn's* version of Hermes' construction of the lyre is likely to be alluded to also at Nicander, *Alex.* 559–62.<sup>45</sup>

### Sotades

In the third century BC we may find a parodistic echo of *h.Herm.* 237–8 (σπάργαν' ἔσω κατέδυνε θυήεντ'· ἥύτε πολλὴν | πρέμνων ἀνθρακίην ὕλης σποδὸς ἀμφικαλύπτει, 'as a mass of log embers is concealed under the wood ash') in Sotad.Com. 1.28–9 (ἐσπαργάνωσα περιπάσας ὀρίγανον | ἐνέκρυψά θ' ὥσπερ δαλὸν εἰς πολλὴν τέφραν, 'I have wrapped [sc. the bonito] in its swaddling-clothes<sup>46</sup> after sprinkling oregano, and I hid it in the thick ash like a torch').<sup>47</sup>

### Apollonius Rhodius

As well, Apollonius Rhodius can be shown to have engaged with the *Homeric Hymns* often with typical Hellenistic *variatio*. Some

<sup>43</sup> Cf. D. Kidd, *Aratus Phaenomena. Edited with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Cambridge, 1997), 187.

<sup>44</sup> See Kidd (1997), 278; Vergados (2013), 86–7.

<sup>45</sup> See Vergados (2013), 87–8.

<sup>46</sup> i.e. in a fig leaf in which the fish will be cooked *au papillote*.

<sup>47</sup> Vergados (2013), 112.

examples: At 3.482 (οἷ κέ μιν εἰς Ἑκάτης περικαλλέα νηὸν ἄγοιεν), περικαλλέα νηὸν may be a reminiscence of *h.Ap.*, the only earlier hexameter poem in which this phrase occurs (80, 247, 258, and 287, always at verse-end and accompanied by forms of τεύχειν).<sup>48</sup> The description of Thetis' attempt to make Achilles immortal at A.R. 4.869–79 owes much to *h.Dem.* 237–53, as Nicholas Richardson has remarked.<sup>49</sup> The *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, too, is echoed at several points in the *Argonautica*.<sup>50</sup> A.R. 4.877 (αὐτὴ δέ, πνοιῇ ἱκέλη δέμας, ἥ' ὅναιρος, 'and she herself, like a breeze in form, like a dream . . . '—trans. Race), in the passage just mentioned, seems to echo *h.Herm.* 147 (αὔρη ὁπωρινῇ ἐναλίγκιος ἥ' ὅναιρος, 'like an autumn breeze, in the manner of a mist'). It appears thus that Apollonius combines references to two *Homeric Hymns* in the same passage. A.R. 1.365 echoes *h.Herm.* 128 (λείω ἐπὶ πλαταμῶνι, 'onto a smooth slab'): the phrase occurs only in these two poets, both times in the same metrical *sedes*.<sup>51</sup> Hermes' banqueting and bantering young men (*h.Herm.* 55–6) may reappear in A.R. 1.457–9.<sup>52</sup> Just as theogonic song helps reconcile Apollo and Hermes in *h.Herm.* 418–35, likewise Orpheus' theogony in A.R. 1.494–518 stops a quarrel that is about to erupt among the Argonauts. Dry logs are gathered, a fire is lit by means of fire-sticks, and supper is prepared both at *h.Herm.*

<sup>48</sup> The reference to *h.Ap.* is clearer in a scoptic epigram attributed to Lucian (*AP XI* 400). This ironic prayer to Grammatike consists of a pastiche of quotations of, and references to, Homer's *Iliad*, *h.Ap.*, the opening of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, and Archil. fr. 331.2: Ἰλαθι, Γραμματικὴ φρονίμοι, Ἰλαθι, λιμοῦ | φάρμακον εὐρομένη Μῆνιν αἶειδε, θεά. | νηὸν ἐχρῆν καὶ σοὶ περικαλλέα δαμῆσασθαι | καὶ βωμὸν θνέων μὴ ποτε δευόμενον. | καὶ γὰρ σοῦ μεστὰ μὲν ὁδοί, μεστὴ δὲ θάλασσα | καὶ λιμένες, πάντων δέκτρια Γραμματικῇ. What makes the allusion here plausible is the communicative context of the epigram (a mock prayer) and the presence of δαμῆσασθαι which reminds of τεύχειν in *h.Ap.* On this epigram, see G. Nisbet, *Greek Epigram in the Roman Empire: Martial's Forgotten Rivals* (Oxford, 2003), 170–2. On the problem of its attribution (Lucian or Lucilius?), see R. Helm, 'Lukianos', *RE* XIII(2) (1927), 1739–40; B. Baldwin, 'The Epigrams of Lucian', *Phoenix* 29 (1975), 326–7; and now L. Floridi, *Lucillio 'Epigrammi'. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento* (Berlin and Boston, 2014), 80–2.

<sup>49</sup> See Richardson (1974), 69–70 (with 70 n. 1).

<sup>50</sup> See Vergados (2013), 113–17.

<sup>51</sup> See J. J. Clauss, *The Best of the Argonauts. The Redefinition of the Epic Hero in Book 1 of Apollonius' Argonautica* (Berkeley, 1993) and Chapter 3 in this volume.

<sup>52</sup> *h.Herm.* 55–6 ἥ' ὅναιρος | ἡβηταὶ θαλίῃσι παραιβόλα κερτομέουσιν ('as young men at dinners make ribald interjections') ~ A.R. 1.457–9 μετέπειτα δ' ἄμοιβαδὶς ἀλλήλοισιν | μυθεῖνθ' οἶά τε πολλὰ νέοι παρὰ δαιτὶ καὶ οἴνῳ | τερπνῶς ἐψιόωνται ('Afterwards, they told stories to one another in turn, of the kind young men often tell as they enjoy themselves over a meal and wine'—trans. Race).

111–13 and at A.R. 1.1182–4.<sup>53</sup> A disappointed mother chastises her young son in *h.Herm.* 155–61 and A.R. 3.129–53 (Aphrodite to Eros), but Apollonius also uses other parts of the *Hymn*.<sup>54</sup> Finally, A.R. 1.803, 850 (*Κύπριδος, ἣ τέ σφιν θυμοφθόρον ἔμβαλεν ἄτην, ὅφ* Cyprus, who cast into them a soul-destroying infatuation' / *Κύπρις γὰρ ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἔμερον ὤρσε*, 'for Cyprus aroused sweet desire') seems to look back to line 2 of *h.Aphr.* (*Κύπριδος, ἣ τε θεοῖσιν ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἔμερον ὤρσε*, 'who sends sweet longing upon the gods').<sup>55</sup> A. Faulkner also proposes a possible allusion to *h.Aphr.* 7 (*πεπιθεῖν φρένας οὐδ' ἀπατήσαι*, 'persuade or outwit [sc. the minds of Athena, Artemis, and Hestia]') at A.R. 3.152 (*παρέξομαι οὐδ' ἀπατήσω*, 'I will give [sc. the gift] and not cheat you', spoken by Aphrodite herself), which, if accepted, would be another case of Apollonius' echoing two *Homeric Hymns* in the same passage.

### Callimachus

In addition to the numerous echoes of the *Homeric Hymns* detected in Callimachus' *Hymns*, some of which have been discussed above,<sup>56</sup> there is an echo to *h.Herm.* 155–6, 160–1 (*τίπτε σὺ ποικιλομῆτα, πόθεν τόδε νυκτὸς ἐν ὥρῃ | ἔρχῃ ἀναιδείῃν ἐπιειμένες; ... μεγάλην σε πατὴρ ἐφύτευσε μέριμναν | θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι*, 'What are you up to, you sly thing, where have you been in the nighttime, with shamelessness as your cloak? ... Your father has begotten you to be a great nuisance to mortal men and immortal gods') in *Aetia* fr. 177.12–14 Pf. (= SH 259.12–14; fr. 54c.12–14 Harder)

[ὄχληροί, τί τόδ'] αὖ γείτονες ἤμε[τ]έρων  
ἦκατ' ἀποκναίσοντες, ἐπεὶ μάλα [γ'] οὔτι φέρε[σθε];  
[ξ]είνοις κωκυμὸν ἐπλασεν ὕμμε θεός

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *ξύλα κάγκανα* (A.R. 1.1182) ~ *κάγκανα κᾶλα* (*h.Herm.* 112); *πυρήια* (A.R. 1.1184, *h.Herm.* 111).

<sup>54</sup> The verbal echoes: *h.Herm.* 155 *τίπτε σὺ ποικιλομῆτα* ~ A.R. 3.129 *τίπτ' ἐπιμειδιάς*; *h.Herm.* 160 *μεγάλην ... μέριμναν* ~ A.R. 3.129 *ἄφατον κακόν*; *h.Herm.* 40, 52 *ἐρατεινὸν ἄθυρμα* ~ A.R. 3.132 *περικαλλές ἄθυρμα* (same *sedes*, though the phrases are not metrically interchangeable); *h.Herm.* 462 *δώσω τ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα καὶ ἐς τέλος οὐκ ἀπατήσω* ~ A.R. 3.152 *ἣ μὲν τοι δῶρόν γε παρέξομαι οὐδ' ἀπατήσω*.

<sup>55</sup> See Faulkner (2008), 51.

<sup>56</sup> For more on Callimachus, see pp. 6–9 at the beginning of this chapter.

‘Troublesome creatures, why have you come as neighbours to destroy our home, because you will gain absolutely nothing? A god made you into sources of wailing for guests and hosts.’—trans. Harder.<sup>57</sup>

## Theocritus

The pseudo-Theocritean poem 25 echoes *h.Herm.* in some places.<sup>58</sup> For example, verse 1, where we hear of Heracles’ encounter with an old ploughman (τὸν δ’ ὁ γέρων προσέειπε βοῶν ἐπίουρος ἀροτρεύς, ‘And to him the old ploughman that guarded the cattle made answer’—trans. Gow), is a reference to *h.Herm.* 201 (τὸν δ’ ὁ γέρων μύθοισιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν, ‘the old man answered him’), these being the only hexameter poems in which a line begins with τὸν δ’ ὁ γέρων coupled with προσέειπε. The allusion is supported by the ploughman’s evocation of Hermes in his function as the *einodios* god as his reason for providing information to Heracles.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, just as the Old Man of Onchestus observes at *h.Herm.* 205 that χαλεπὸν δὲ δαήμεναί ἐστιν ἕκαστον (‘and it is difficult to know which is which [sc. which traveller goes with good and which with ill intent]’), likewise the [Theocritean] old man says χαλεπὸν δ’ ἐτέρου νόον ἴδμεναί ἀνδρός, ‘and hard it is to know another man’s mood’—trans. Gow (67). Typically for the Hellenistic poets’ reworking of archaic models, [Theocritus] 25.2 (παυσάμενος ἔργοιο τό οἱ μετὰ χερσὶν ἔκειτο, ‘pausing in the task whereon his hands were busied’—trans. Gow) alludes to Call. *Aetia* fr. 177.15–16 Pf. (= SH 259.15–16; fr. 54c.15–16 Harder; [ὦ]ς ἐνέπων τὸ [μ]έν ἔργον, ὃ οἱ

<sup>57</sup> M. A. Harder, *Callimachus, Aetia*, 2 vols (Oxford, 2012), 445. See also Vergados (2013), 118–19; M. A. Seiler, *Ποίησις ποιήσεως. Alexandrinische Dichtung kata lepton in strukturaler und humantheologischer Deutung*: Kall. fr. 254–268 SH; *Theocr.* 1,32–54; *Theocr.* 7; *Theocr.* 11; ‘*Theocr.*’ 25 (Stuttgart, 1997), 93–4.

<sup>58</sup> See Vergados (2013), 119–23.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. 3–6: ἔκ τοι, ξεῖνε, πρόφρων μνησσομαι ὅσ’ ἐρεῖνεις, | Ἐρμῆος ἀζόμενος δεινὴν ὄπιν εἰνδοῖοιο | τὸν γάρ φασι μέγιστον ἐπουρανίων κεχολῶσθαι, | εἴ κε ὁδοῦ ζαχρεῖον ἀνήγηται τις ὁδίτη (‘Willingly, stranger, will I tell thee all thou askest, for I reverence the awful power of Hermes of the Ways. Beyond other gods is he wroth, men say, if one refuse a traveller that craves direction’). The [Theocritean] ploughman, besides being willing to help Heracles, also knows the answer to what Heracles asks him: cf. 37–8 ἐγὼ δὲ κέ τοι σάφα εἰδῶς | πάντα μάλ’ ἐξείποιμι (‘I have the knowledge and will tell thee all’) and contrast *h.Herm.* 207 σαφές δ’ οὐκ οἶδα, where the Old Man at Onchestus is an ‘unhelpful helper’ (cf. M. Davies, ‘Unhelpful Helpers: Folk-Tale Vestiges in the Homeric Hymns’, *Prometheus* 32 (2006)). This is a case of *oppositio in imitando*.

μετὰ [χερ]ῶν ἔ[κειτο] | [ῥῶψ]εν, ‘speaking thus he gave up the task at hand’), a text that, as we saw earlier, echoes *h.Herm.* as well. In other words, [Theocr.] 25 looks back to *h.Herm.* as well as to another text (Callimachus’ *Aetia*) which itself echoed *h.Herm.*<sup>60</sup>

### Eratosthenes and Nicander

One might speculate that Eratosthenes alludes to *h.Herm.* in his *Hermes*, where the narrative of Hermes’ early career was utilized as an opportunity for Eratosthenes to express his astronomical ideas.<sup>61</sup>

The discussion of the unity of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* appears not to be a modern invention if we consider the practice of Nicander, who, as F. De Martino has suggested, appears to punctuate both the middle and the end of his *Theriaca* with a *sphragis* not unlike the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, where the *sphragis* can be thought of as occupying both the final position (with respect to the Delian part) and the middle (with respect to *h.Ap.* as a whole).<sup>62</sup>

### Moschus

In the second century BC, a number of verbal and thematic parallels suggest that both the *Hymns* to Demeter and Aphrodite served as models for Moschus’ *Europa*, which playfully recounts the seduction of Europa by Zeus in the form of a bull. The willing Europa (as exemplified by the woman of her dream in line 14, οὐκ ἀέκουσαν) contrasts and invites comparison with the unwilling (ἀέκουσαν, 19) Persephone abducted by Hades in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*; both are snatched by a god whilst picking flowers.<sup>63</sup> In the spirited context of Aphrodite instigating a seduction of a mortal woman by Zeus (the very thing that gets her into trouble with Anchises at the

<sup>60</sup> For more on Theocritus, see p. 7 at the beginning of this chapter.

<sup>61</sup> See Vergados (2013), 89–92, for possible references.

<sup>62</sup> See F. De Martino, ‘Nicandro e la “questione omerica” dell’inno ad Apollo’, *Atene e Roma* 27 (1982a). The internal *sphragis* in Nicander’s *Theriaca* is established by means of an acrostic; see A. S. F. Gow, ‘Nicander’s Signature’, CQ 22 (1928) and A. S. F. Gow and A. F. Scholfield, *Nicander, the Poems and Poetical Fragments, Edited with a Translation and Notes* (Cambridge, 1953) ad 343–53 who observe that ‘it is placed in the most ornamental passage of the whole poem’.

<sup>63</sup> See M. Campbell, *Moschus’ Europa* (Hildesheim, 1991), 6–7.

hands of Zeus), a number of verbal similarities hint also at the *Hymn to Aphrodite*.<sup>64</sup>

## MODES AND FORMS OF RECEPTION

Given that the term reception is very much in vogue in contemporary scholarship and can be understood in various ways, an overview of the forms of reception encountered during the studies of the *Homeric Hymns* in this book is in order.

At a basic—though by no means insignificant—level, the manuscript transmission of the *Hymns* constitutes a form of reception which may reveal ancient and medieval scholars' attitudes towards and understanding of the texts. Our understanding of the physical transmission of the *Hymns* in Byzantium is limited, due to the survival of no manuscript earlier than the fifteenth century, but the manuscripts nonetheless provide important testimony for reception after this point. C. Simelidis in Chapter 13 concentrates on John Eugenikos, an active churchman and writer in the first half of the fifteenth century and the scribe of the important M manuscript (Leidensis B.P.G. 33H), which is the only manuscript to contain the long *Hymn to Demeter* and the end of the first *Hymn to Dionysus*. He argues that John consciously selected the *Homeric Hymns* for inclusion in this manuscript, questioning the evidence for supposing that Eugenikos copied an earlier uncial manuscript containing the *Hymns* and sections of the *Iliad*. Otherwise, the *Hymns* are not known to have been transmitted together with the Homeric epics but with other hymnic corpora. Certainly, tracing the manuscripts and first editions

<sup>64</sup> *h.Aphr.* 2. Κύπριδος, ἥ τε θεοῖσιν ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἕμερον ὤρσε ~ *Eur.* 76 Κύπριδος, ἥ μούνη δύναται καὶ Ζῆνα δαμάσσαι and 1 Εὐρώπῃ ποτὲ Κύπρις ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἦκεν ὄνειρον; *h.Aphr.* 38. καὶ τε τοῦ εὐτ' ἐθέλη πυκινὰς φρένας ἐξαπαφούσα ~ *Eur.* 78 παρθενικῆς τ' ἐθέλων ἀταλὸν νόον ἐξαπατήσας; *h.Aphr.* 81. στή δ' αὐτοῦ προπάροιθε ~ *Eur.* 93 [Ζεύς] στή δὲ ποδῶν προπάροιθεν ἀμύμονος Εὐρωπείης (although cf. *Il.* 14. 297); *h.Aphr.* 156. ἔρπε μεταστρεφθεῖσα [ἐς λέχος] ~ *Eur.* 111 ἥ δὲ μεταστρεφθεῖσα φίλας καλέεσκεν εταίρας; *h.Aphr.* 193 ~ *Eur.* 154; *h.Aphr.* 196–7 ~ *Eur.* 160–1. See Janko (1982), 268 n. 1; Campbell (1991) *ad loc.*; Faulkner (2008), 51 and *ad loc.* In light of these many verbal similarities, combined with the erotic thematic correspondence, the probability that the *Hymn to Demeter* is also a model, and the highly allusive nature of the poem, Olson (2012), 25–6, is laboured in his scepticism that Moschus knew the *Hymn*.

of the poems informs knowledge of and engagement with the *Hymns* by Italian humanists. As O. Thomas points out in Chapter 15, the production and circulation of manuscripts provide an important window on fifteenth-century humanism. In Chapter 16, M. E. Schwab explores Poliziano's engagement with the *Hymns* in his *Stanze per la Giostra* in the context of fifteenth-century Florence, just before the first printed edition of Homer and the *Hymns*.

In Chapter 18, A. Schwab notes that the rediscovery of M at the end of the eighteenth century stimulated philological work and shows in the case of the German scholar J. H. Voss's commentary on the then newly discovered *Hymn to Demeter* how commentaries are yet another important form of textual reception. A commentary determines in many ways how future generations receive the text,<sup>65</sup> and in the case of Voss's commentary on the *Hymn to Demeter* the philological explication of the text is bound up with both explicit and implicit cultural assumptions, as well as contemporary ideas on religion, while it offers precious insights into the philological quarrels in Heidelberg at the height of German Romanticism. Translation or paraphrase is another aspect of the *Hymns'* reception which reflects contemporary literary and cultural ideals, as N. Richardson examines in the case of the English poets in Chapter 17, an issue with which M. E. Schwab also grapples in considering Poliziano's close reworking of *Hymn 6* to Aphrodite.

Identifying and defining less explicit instances of the *Hymns'* reception in ancient literature is a complicated task. The recurrence of words or word-patterns found in a *Homeric Hymn* and in later texts does not by itself constitute strong evidence for the presence of conscious reception, especially given the significant overlap between the language of the *Hymns* and the Homeric epics. A verbal similarity may also simply be the product of an unconscious reminiscence of a text the author read or heard, perhaps even within a school context,<sup>66</sup> and may consequently have no further point. But even the search for motifs and themes does not necessarily yield conclusive results since

<sup>65</sup> Cf. C. S. Kraus, 'Introduction: Reading Commentaries/Commentaries as Reading', in R. K. Gibson and C. S. Kraus (eds), *The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory* (Leiden, 2002).

<sup>66</sup> On the possibility that the *Hymns* were included in the school curriculum, see section on Imperial and Late Antique Literature and chapters 2 and 12.

we may be dealing sometimes with widespread stories and story-patterns or the reflection of generic hymnal *topoi* and vocabulary which by themselves do not provide evidence on which to build a good case for reception.

It is safer to look for verbal parallels combined with thematic elements or motifs that 'are susceptible of interpretation, or meaningful',<sup>67</sup> in order to argue persuasively for the presence of reception. As has been argued several times, especially in the study of intertextuality in Roman poetry,<sup>68</sup> an allusion (or reference) to an earlier author is rarely an 'innocent' reminiscence of an earlier author. By reactivating an intertext, an allusion offers some kind of interpretation of the predecessor's work or at least an attitude towards the literary model or precedent. Rather than simply imitating a predecessor (*imitatio*), a poet might strive to surpass his predecessor's achievement (*aemulatio*). For example, a later poet might discover a 'gap' in the predecessor's narrative which he now fills, as J. F. Miller argues in Chapter 5 on Ovid's reception of the seventh *Hymn to Dionysus*; Ovid extends the mythological continuum by giving centre stage to the helmsman, a relatively minor character in the earlier tradition who updates his own tale.

Reception of a particular text or performance cannot be treated as if in a vacuum. At times a poet might reflect a *Homeric Hymn* as well as the work of an intermediary who had himself referred to the same *Hymn* (what has been called by Richard Thomas a 'window reference'). This process is explored in Chapter 3 by J. Clauss, who argues that Virgil's allusions to the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* take up the question of political authority introduced by Callimachus in his own allusion to the same *Homeric Hymn* in his *Hymn to Zeus*. Such an approach enriches our appreciation of Virgil's engagement with the *Homeric Hymn*, yet it also raises an important question: did Virgil read the *Hymn to Hermes* as a text already loaded with political implications or did he acknowledge this as a specific Callimachean contribution to the interpretation of the archaic poem? A. Keith

<sup>67</sup> Thomas (1986), 174.

<sup>68</sup> See e.g. S. E. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext. Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge, 1998), esp. 17–25; T. K. Hubbard, *The Pipes of Pan. Intertextuality and Literary Filiation in the Pastoral Tradition from Theocritus to Milton* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1998), 7–18; B. Acosta-Hughes, *Arion's Lyre. Archaic Lyric into Hellenistic Poetry* (Princeton, NJ, 2010), 4–8.



also points to the importance of Callimachus' hymns for Virgil and Ovid in Chapter 6. Indeed, whether implicit or explicit, all Latin and post-Hellenistic reception of the *Hymns* must take into account earlier reception of the poems and developments in the broader hymnographical and literary tradition. Along similar lines, Aelius Aristides' use of the term *prooimion* as a designation of the *Hymns* on the one hand recalls the Thucydidean quotation of the *Hymn to Apollo* and probably also Pindaric usage; on the other hand it conforms to Aristides' understanding of how the *Hymns* were recited in archaic and Classical times. In this case, as A. Vergados considers in Chapter 9, reception becomes a sort of cultural reconstruction as well.

The reception of the *Homeric Hymns* takes other forms as well. An author like Lucian alludes to the *Hymns* but in combination with other genres so as to produce a kind of pastiche, as elucidated by P. Strolonga in Chapter 8. Besides the obvious case of *Gattungsmischung*, Lucian's engagement with the *Hymns* raises the intriguing question of how he perceived the generic affiliations of these *Hymns*. In the case of his dialogues involving *Hermes*, for example, did he have in mind the *Hymn's* influence upon Sophocles' satyric theatre and perhaps also other satyr or comic plays dealing with the theme of the gods' births (θεῶν γοναί)? And what does this kind of reception imply about Lucian's criticism of religion? In other words, are we allowed to read these allusions independently of his other works in which he subjects his society's beliefs to hard criticism? Be that as it may, it is fair to say that allusions and references to the earlier poems are a way for an author like Lucian to distance himself from, and critique, his literary model.

In addition, an author's use of a hymnic 'tag' may not just signal his recollection of a poetic predecessor but may resonate with contemporary hymnic practice.<sup>69</sup> For instance, Aelius Aristides' use of πάντως δὲ πολυύμνητος εἶ (Or. 40.1) in his prose *Hymn to Heracles* does double duty: on the one hand, it is part of a clever intertextual play that involves also the circumstances of the Aristidean *Hymn's* performance (it is delivered in front of the temple of Apollo, hence an allusion to the *Hymn to Apollo* 19/27 πάντως εὐύμνον is not out of place). At the same time this Apolline 'tag' resonates with the hymnal

<sup>69</sup> For the concept of the 'tag', cf. R. L. Hunter, *Hesiodic Voices: Studies in the Ancient Reception of Hesiod's Works and Days* (Cambridge, 2014), 15–16, who discusses 'Hesiodic tags' in later texts.

practice of Aristides' times, in which gods are generally πολυμήνῃτοι. Put another way, an item of contemporary, widely used hymnal vocabulary is given further temporal depth by being linked with the Homeric εὐμῆνος god *par excellence*.

Furthermore, an author's engagement with the *Homeric Hymns* might be shaped by his own religious practices or beliefs. For instance, as R. M. van den Berg argues in Chapter 11, Proclus' reworking of the long *Hymn to Aphrodite* can be linked to his theurgical practices. The Orphic hymns and the hymns of the magical papyri, two later collections of hexameter hymns, must also be understood within the context of their particular religious and ritual traditions. Strings of epithets in both cases fulfil particular functions and differentiate these hymns from the style of the *Homeric Hymns*, which are not quoted or obviously echoed in the two corpora. In such collections of later hexameter hymns, where one might expect to find overt reference to the *Homeric Hymns*, the very absence of unambiguous engagement takes on significance, as a possible indication not only of authorial priorities but also of the authority and distribution of the *Hymns* in these milieux. In the case of the Orphic hymns, at least, we can say that the *Hymns* are elsewhere linked overtly to Orphic tradition: an Orphic papyrus of the mid-first century BC (*Orph.* fr. 383 Bernabé = 49 Kern) quotes or adapts passages of the *Hymn to Demeter*, there ascribed to Orpheus.<sup>70</sup> It may nonetheless be possible, although with less certainty, to speak of reception of the *Hymns* in these cases.

The volume also considers the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in art. In Chapter 2 Clay begins with a discussion of the theoretical relationship of image and text and previous studies of the representation of Homeric material on Greek vases. There is always the question of whether the images we have can be said to illustrate the Homeric poems that have come down to us. Instead of speaking of the 'illustration of stories', as does Small,<sup>71</sup> Clay argues for an approach which considers the 'representation' of stories equally influenced by traditions, evolutions, and development of the artistic medium, but also, with Squire,<sup>72</sup> recognizing that the interactions

<sup>70</sup> See Richardson (1974), 66–7.

<sup>71</sup> J. P. Small, *The Parallel Worlds of Classical Art and Text* (Cambridge, 2003), 6.

<sup>72</sup> M. Squire, *Image and Text in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2009), 134.

between ancient images and viewers involved dynamic processes involving verbal stories and other images.

## PERIODS OF RECEPTION AND OVERVIEW OF CONTRIBUTIONS

This book is divided into five sections, each of which presents case studies on a period, mode, or tradition of reception of the *Homeric Hymns*. There is no single principle determining the division of the chapters into the different sections, although we have grouped contributions to an extent according to language and chronology, which we felt has the advantage at times of focusing attention on a particular tradition or cultural context of reception, such as in the case of Latin literature. For practical purposes, it seemed that some division of chapters into groups would help readers find their way around the book. This notwithstanding, such divisions are by no means intended to suggest absolute categories. Cornutus, to cite the obvious example in J. B. Torres' chapter (Chapter 10), sits at the crossroads of Greek and Roman traditions, as of course do Horace, Virgil, and Ovid in their own extensive engagement with Greek literature. A workshop held in Heidelberg in June 2014, at which contributors discussed pre-circulated drafts of the chapters, has encouraged interaction between the chapters that goes beyond superficial cross-references *post scriptum*. This, combined with the discussion above of different modes and forms of reception of the *Homeric Hymns* treated in the volume and the summary of contributions below, will help and encourage readers to tie the individual chapters together.

### Narrative and Art

In the first section, J. S. Clay's study of the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in Greek vase painting in Chapter 2 provides the first thorough study of the interaction of hymnic narrative and art. As indicated above, in contrast to the other hymnic chapters in the volume, which focus upon Latin and post-Hellenistic Greek literature, this contribution examines the interaction with art in the archaic and Classical periods, an undertaking justified by the need for a synoptic exploration of this topic. Clay provides close readings of archaic and Classical vases

whose painters may have been influenced by the *Hymns*, while briefly reviewing recent scholarship on the relation between text and image in antiquity.

## Latin Literature

The section on the *Homeric Hymns* in Latin literature consists of five studies on Augustan poetry focusing on Virgil, Ovid, and Horace. It seems certain that the *Homeric Hymns* were important models for these three poets, and potentially also for other Latin authors of the late republic and early empire. In the cases of Ovid and Virgil,<sup>73</sup> the evidence for the reception of the *Hymns* goes beyond isolated references to individual poems and suggests knowledge of a collection of the longer narrative *Hymns*. Càssola has suggested that Philodemus, who quotes from the *Hymns*, may have brought the collection to Rome.<sup>74</sup> This is, as A. Keith suggests in Chapter 6, an attractive idea, although it is impossible to know for certain. It is also notable that, to judge from the evidence adduced thus far, the *Homeric Hymns* to Aphrodite and Hermes proved particularly popular in this period. The motivation for interest in a narrative about the birth and divine lineage of Aeneas in the Roman context is obvious, although the playful nature of the two *Hymns* to Aphrodite and Hermes may also explain their popularity amongst Augustan poets. Lucretius' hymn to Aphrodite at the outset of *De Rerum Natura* has points of contact with the *Hymn to Aphrodite* and it could be that he had access to a collection of the *Hymns*.<sup>75</sup> P. Heslin has recently suggested that reunion of Aeneas at the age of five with his father Anchises, as prophesied by Aphrodite at the end of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (lines 273–7), was depicted at Pompeii (as sketched by Rossini).<sup>76</sup>

In his chapter on Virgil, J. Clauss explores the episode of Hercules and Cacus in *Aeneid* 8 and its engagement with earlier models in Chapter 3, in particular the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, Callimachus'

<sup>73</sup> As pointed out by Barchiesi (1999) in the case of Ovid. See also Chapter 6 in this volume.

<sup>74</sup> F. Càssola, 'Inni omerici', in M. Geymonat and F. Della Corte (eds), *Enciclopedia virgiliana*, Vol. 2 (Rome, 1984); a theory supported by Olson (2011), n. 11.

<sup>75</sup> See Chapter 6, n. 29.

<sup>76</sup> P. Heslin, *The Museum of Augustus: The Temple of Apollo in Pompeii, the Portico of Philippus, and Roman Poetry* (Los Angeles, CA, 2015), 123–6.

*Hymn to Zeus*, and Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, as well as the treatment of the Hercules–Cacus episode in Livy, Propertius, and Ovid.

S. Harrison next traces the influence of the *Homeric Hymns* and their poetic tradition on Horace's *Odes* and the *Carmen Saeculare* in Chapter 4. He shows that the key plots of the longer *Hymns* (to Hermes, Aphrodite, Demeter, Pan, and Dionysus) seem to be used on a number of occasions, though without extensive re-narration. Concerning the brief hymns, he suggests that these shorter pieces offered particularly attractive models for Horatian lyrics of similar length and shows that the *Carmen Saeculare* owes some of its framework to the *Homeric Hymns*. His suggestion that Horace alludes to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* through the *Aeneid* at the conclusion of *Odes* 4.15 finds a connection with A. Keith's observation that Ovid receives the *Hymns* in part through Virgil.

Three studies then explore Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In Chapter 5, J. F. Miller considers the tale of Dionysus and the Tyrrhenian pirates from *Hymn* 7, which (in *Met.* 3) Ovid folds into his version of Pentheus vs Bacchus at Thebes. He observes how Ovid refashions the *Hymn*'s narrative through manoeuvres typical of the *Metamorphoses*: narrative doubling, story within a story, sudden shifts of speaker, filling in gaps in mythical history, and generic mixing. In Chapter 6, A. Keith investigates the impact of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* in the Latin poetry of the Augustan age, especially Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5. She suggests that Ovid's marked allusions to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* through Virgilian intertexts implicitly credit Virgil with a special prominence in the transmission of the *Homeric Hymns* into Latin literature. In Chapter 7, J. S. Nethercut treats Ovid's Hercules episode in the *Metamorphoses* (9.1–323), touched on also by J. Clauss. He argues that the episode interacts with the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and that the narrative dynamics in the Hercules episode suggest that Ovid was aware of the structural issues inherent in the *Hymn*: Ovid rearranges material from the Pythian and Delian parts of the *Hymn* in ways that suggest that he may have anticipated the modern reading of these two parts as different compositions.

### Imperial and Late Antique Literature

Eight chapters offer case studies of the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in Greek literature of the Imperial and Late Antique periods, not only in poetry but also in prose works such as Lucian's dialogues,

Aelius Aristides' prose hymns, and Cornutus' mythographical handbook. The prose reception of the *Hymns* quite obviously crosses generic boundaries and we see in Second Sophistic authors such as Aelius Aristides and Lucian an awareness of the *Hymns* as a component in an exploration and redefinition of generic affiliations. The identification of reception of poetry in prose can rely on language, but perhaps places more weight on the subtleties of mythological and narrative content. Aelius Aristides shows direct knowledge of the *Hymns* in his prose hymns, and we have seen above that Pausanias quotes from the *Hymns*. Lucian may have had direct knowledge of Pausanias,<sup>77</sup> and it is certainly possible that he too was familiar with the *Hymns* firsthand, although he does not quote them.

In Imperial poetry too there are traces of the *Hymns*. Echoes are found in the *Periegesis of the Known World* by Dionysius of Alexandria, a poem of Hadrianic date which not infrequently evokes the hymnic tradition.<sup>78</sup> We can be certain that Proclus was familiar with the *Hymns*, but evidence for reception elsewhere in these periods is more delicate. There seem to be traces of the *Hymns* in Late Antique and Christian classicizing poetry, and G. Agosti suggests that they may have formed part of the school curriculum in this period. As noted above, in the fifth century BC an Attic lekythos (c.470 BC) depicts a boy holding a papyrus roll, on which is written the opening of *Hymn* 18 (*Ἑρμῆν ἀείδω*), a possible indication of school use. In the Imperial period, the second-century AD *P.Oxy.* 68.4667 quotes lines 4–18 of *Hymn* 18 and lines 1–11 of *Hymn* 7 to Dionysus, in that order with two lines of prose in between. The context of this papyrus is not clear, but the third-century AD *P.Oxy.* 7.1015 contains a hymn to Hermes written by a pupil, whose content has some connection to the *Hymn to Hermes*.

Within the area of Imperial prose, in Chapter 8, P. Strolonga investigates the influence of the *Homeric Hymns* on Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods* with a particular focus on those dialogues which seem to be based on episodes or dialogues in the four longer *Homeric Hymns*. She argues that Lucian crafts a hybrid genre influenced by the

<sup>77</sup> See J. L. Lightfoot, *Lucian on the Syrian Goddess* (Oxford, 2003), 218.

<sup>78</sup> See J. L. Lightfoot, *Dionysius Periegetes: Description of the Known World* (Oxford, 2014), 35; 308 on *Perieg.* 210 οὗς Διὸς οὐκ ἀλέγοντας ἀπώλεσεν Ἀῖονις αἰχμῇ ~ *h.Ap.* 279 οἱ Διὸς οὐκ ἀλέγοντες ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάσσκον, and 380 on *Perieg.* 518 ῥῶονθ' ἐξείης ~ *h.Aphr.* 261 χορὸν ῥώσασθαι.

*Homeric Hymns* and describes this process as a ‘transposition’, suggesting that Lucian parodies not only the gods themselves, but also the praise rhetoric that is echoed in the major *Homeric Hymns*. In Chapter 9, A. Vergados explores the evidence in Aelius Aristides’ prose hymns that he knew the *Homeric Hymns*. He suggests that Aristides’ engagement with the *Hymns* ranges from general reflection of a mythological story to intricate allusions and ‘window references’. J. B. Torres dedicates his study in Chapter 10 to Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, the Roman author who wrote in Greek an allegorical compendium of Greek theology in the first century AD. Torres pays attention to some passages which exhibit a particular knowledge of the major *Hymns* to Demeter and Hermes. In his discussion of the vexed question of the sources used by Cornutus, Torres shows that Cornutus’ knowledge of the *Hymns* derived at least in part from Apollodorus as an intermediary source.

Turning to verse, in his contribution on Proclus (AD 412–85) in Chapter 11, the influential head of the Neoplatonic school of Athens, R. M. van den Berg explores how Proclus’ hymns and the *Hymn to Ares* both provide small glimpses of the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in Late Antiquity, each in their own way. He furthermore makes the case that Proclus’ adaptation of bits of the *Hymn to Aphrodite* was probably motivated by his theurgical beliefs. In Chapter 12, G. Agosti studies the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in some pagan and Christian poets of Late Antiquity. He observes that the *Homeric Hymns*, generally speaking, do not constitute a model for the rich hymnic production of Late Antiquity, but that they have been considered rather a helpful source for expressions of praise and for epithets, or simply epic tags.

### Byzantine Literature

The fate of the *Homeric Hymns* in Byzantium is murky. We know that manuscripts of the *Hymns* existed, but none of these has survived. Nor are there any explicit references to the *Hymns* in Byzantine literature, due in part, no doubt, to a certain opposition between pagan hymns and Christian faith, with its own tradition of hymnography. In Chapter 13, C. Simelidis discusses some examples which indicate that the *Homeric Hymns* were read by the Byzantines, but also points out the difficulties involved in identifying secure allusions

to or echoes of the *Homeric Hymns*. A. Faulkner then examines in Chapter 14 the *Carmina Historica* of the twelfth-century author Theodoros Prodromos, who was active in the court of the Komnenoi. He makes the case that Prodromos in his hexameter poetry echoes the *Hymns*, at times their style and structure, but in one case through an echo of a specific passage of the *Hymn to Aphrodite*.

## Renaissance and Modern Literature

The final section of the book turns to fifteenth-century Italy, as well as reception in German scholarship and English poetry of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Here, as discussed above, the assessment of the *Homeric Hymns*' influence is on firmer ground, aided by knowledge of their physical transmission. Two chapters look at Italian humanists. First, O. Thomas comments in Chapter 15 on marginal annotations in some manuscripts of the *Homeric Hymns*, before focusing on reception of these poems in two Italian humanists: Filelfo (1398–1481), who learnt Greek with John Chrysoloras, and the poet Michael Marullus (1453–1500), who attempted seriously to recreate pagan hymnography in the Renaissance drawing not only on the *Homeric Hymns*, but also on Callimachus, Cleanthes, the *Orphica*, Proclus, Julian, and many other sources. In Chapter 16, in her study on the Italian poet Angelo Poliziano (1454–94), who was also one of the most brilliant scholars of his time, M. E. Schwab focuses on the *Stanze per la Giostra*, regarding it not just as a source for Botticelli's masterpiece 'The Birth of Venus', but instead exploring it as an important testimony for the reception of the *Homeric Hymns* in fifteenth-century Florence.

The volume concludes with two case studies which shed light on the influence of the *Homeric Hymns* on the English poets and German scholarship of the nineteenth century. In Chapter 17, N. Richardson considers the *Homeric Hymns* as seen through the eyes of three English poets: Chapman, Congreve, and Shelley. He illuminates their interest and modes of reception, first looking at George Chapman (d.1634), Shakespeare's contemporary and the first poet to translate all the works ascribed to Homer into English, including the *Hymns*. Richardson shows that Shelley's pleasure in the *Homeric Hymns* led him to translate them at different times of his brief life and that he gained inspiration for his own works from



translating these poems. A. Schwab then studies in Chapter 18 the impact of the rediscovered manuscript of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* at the end of the eighteenth century in Moscow, giving particular attention to the German translator and commentator Johann Heinrich Voss. Voss was responsible for the first Latin translation of the *Hymn* and among the first who translated the text into German, but he also dared to write the first commentary on the poem in German. Schwab explores how Voss approached the 'Eleusinian document' with the particular concerns of his time.

# Part I

## Narrative and Art

